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THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME IDRĪS IN THE QUR'ĀN: A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF QUMRAN LITERATURE ON EARLY ISLAM*

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IN 1952, S. D. Goitein published an article entitled "Who Were Muḥammad's Most Notable Teachers?: A Proposal for a New Solution to an Old Question."¹ One may ask what it was that brought this distinguished scholar to reconsider a subject which had already been dealt with so often since the beginning of modern Middle Eastern studies. Goitein admits that he was not prompted by any new discoveries concerning the Jews and Christians in the Arab Peninsula on the eve of Muḥammad's emergence. He was prompted, rather, by the progress made in the study of Jewish history during the Middle Ages, in general, and the discovery of the Judaean Scrolls, in particular: "Their contents, as will be seen, are not irrelevant to the subject under discussion."²

When Goitein made these remarks, research on the Judaean Scrolls was still in its infancy; parts were being published sporadically. But since then, the study of the Judaean Scrolls and the related apocryphal Enoch literature has become one of the most important branches of study dealing with the history and theology of Judaism and Christianity during their formative periods. Nowadays, reference to the Qumran scrolls is indispensable for any serious discussion of Judaism and/or Christianity during the period of the Second Temple and the period following its destruction. Yet, despite Goitein's challenge, studies of the relations between the Qumran Scrolls and Islam have hardly scratched the surface.³ This deficiency is even more striking when one considers the evident influence of the Qumran-Enoch literature on the early Shī'a, on the one hand, and on Karaism and other Jewish sectarian movements in the eighth and ninth centuries, on the other.⁴ In this paper, I shall try to show that the origins of

* This article is a revised version of a chapter in my M. A. thesis written under the supervision of M. Gil at Tel Aviv University.

¹ S. D. Goitein, *Tarbīz* (Hebrew) 23 (1952): 146–59. This article was also published in G. Weil Jubilee Volume (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1953), pp. 10–23.

² Idem, "Muḥammad's Teachers," p. 147.

³ See, for example, Ch. Rabin, *Qumran Studies* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 112–30; E. F. F. Bishop, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Quran," *The Muslim World* 48 (1958): 223–36; H. Nibley, "Qumran and 'The Companions of the Cave'," *Revue de Qumran* 18 (1965): 177–98; M. Philonenko, "Une Expression qumranienne dans le Coran," *Atti de Terzo Con-*

gresso di Studi Arabi e Islam Ravello, 1966 (Naples, 1966), pp. 553–56; idem, "Une Tradition essénienne dans le Coran," *Revue de l'histoire des religions (RHR)* 170 (1966): 143–57; D. J. Halperin and G. D. Newby, "Two Castrated Bulls: A Study in the Haggadah of Ka'b al-Aḥbār," *JAOS* 102 (1982): 631–38. On the influence of Qumran literature at the time of ʿUthmān, see G. R. Hawting, "The Significance of the Slogan *la ḥukma illā lillāh* and the References to the *ḥudūd* in the Traditions about the Fitna and the Murder of ʿUthmān," *BSOAS* 41 (1978): 453–563.

⁴ On the influence of the Enoch literature on Shī'ism, see, for example, U. Rubin, "Prophets and Progenitors in the Early Shī'a Traditions," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam (JSAT)* 1 (1979): 56–59. On the importance of the first patriarchs in Shī'ī doctrine, see E. Kohlberg, "Some Shī'ī Views of the Antediluvian World," *Studia Islamica* 52 (1980): 41–66. Two books have been devoted to the

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Qurʾānic Idrīs can be traced to Dōrēsh ha-Torah, one of the figures mentioned in the Damascus Covenant (hereafter CD).⁵ Thus, in some small way, I hope to contribute to this neglected area of study.

Muslim exegetes who examined the origin and meaning of the name Idrīs were unanimously of the opinion that Idrīs was not an Arabic word (*fa-ʾimtināʿuhu mina ʾl-ṣarfī dalīlun li-ʿajmihi*, that is, “it being debarred from taking the *tanwin* is a proof of its being foreign”).⁶ Their assumption was taken for granted by modern scholars seeking the origins of the name. Relying on Arabic sources which had identified Idrīs with Hermes Trismegistos, W. F. Albright suggested that Idrīs was derived from Andris, the last two syllables of Pimandris (πομπάνδρης), that is, Hermes Trismegistos.⁷ Th. Nöldeke and R. Hartmann, as did Albright, suggested that it came from the Greek but not from hermetic literature. The former suggested that it originated from Andreas (Andrew), one of Christ’s apostles, while the latter proposed the cook of Alexander the Great, Andreas; Andreas was considered righteous enough to attain immortality.⁸

The Qurʾān tells us (sūra 19:55–56) that Idrīs ascended to heaven. Muslim traditionists associated this with the ascension of the biblical Enoch (Gen. 5:24).⁹ In Christian tradition, Enoch is often identified with the Prophet Elijah, who also ascended to heaven (2 Kings 2:11).¹⁰ It is not surprising, therefore, that among Muslim traditionists, there were a few who claimed that Idrīs was, in fact, Elijah, despite the fact that Elijah is mentioned in the Qurʾān as Ilyās (sūra 37:127) and Ilyāsīn (sūra 37:129).¹¹ A tradition preserved by Ibn al-ʿArabī claims that Idrīs was a postdiluvian figure. In the *ḥadīth* of the *ʾisrāʾ*, it is said that when Muḥammad reached heaven, he was addressed by Adam as *al-ibn al-ṣāliḥ* (“the righteous son”), while Idrīs addressed him as *al-akh*

influence of Qumran literature on Karaism: N. Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism* (London, 1962); A. Paul, *Écrits de Qumran et sectes juives aux premiers siècles de l’Islam* (Paris, 1969). On Qumran, Karaism, and Muʿtazila, see P. Crone and M. Cook, *Hagarism* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 181, n. 24. Later, Cook asked to delete this note. See M. Cook, “Anan and Islam: The Origins of Karaite Scripturalism,” *JSAI* 9 (1987): 167, n. 33. On Mishawites and Qumran, see Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium* (New York, 1959), pp. 376–83.

⁵ This document was first published by S. Schechter in its Genizah version as *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge, 1910). The existence of a tenth-century version of Qumran literature in the Genizah is striking evidence of the persistence of its influence in the Middle Ages.

⁶ Al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqaʿiq al-tanzīl*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 1966), p. 10; al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmiʿ li-ahkām al-qurʾān*, vol. 11 (Cairo, 1967), p. 117.

⁷ W. F. Albright, review of Boylan, *Thoth: The Hermes of Egypt in Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society (JPOS)* 2 (1922): 198. On Idrīs and Hermes Trismegistos, see p. 346 below.

⁸ Th. Nöldeke, “Idrīs,” *ZA* 17 (1903): 83–84; R. Hart-

mann, “Zur Erklärung von Sūra 18, 59 ff.,” *ZA* 24 (1910): 314–15.

⁹ See, for example, Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1858), p. 1; al-Thaʿlabī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (Cairo, 1922), p. 42; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wal-mulūk*, vol. 1, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1964) (reprint), pp. 172–73; al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, vol. 2, p. 10; al-Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ*, vol. 11, p. 117.

¹⁰ See Genesis Rabbā 25 1, Theodor-Albeck edition, p. 239, where the *mīnīm* (heretics) compare Enoch and Elijah. On the amalgamation of Enoch and Elijah in Christianity, see J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 120–24.

¹¹ One tradition claims that in *ʿAbdāllah maṣḥaf*, Idrīs was written instead of Ilyās. See al-Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ*, vol. 15, p. 115; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāya wal-nihāya*, vol. 1 (Beirut, 1966), p. 100. Another tradition claims that Ilyāsīn is derived from Idrīsīn. See al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, vol. 2, p. 270. On Shīʿī traditions which attribute to Idrīs things that happened to Elijah and Elishah, see G. Vajda, “Deux ‘Histoires de prophètes’ selon la tradition des Shiʿites duodécimains,” *Revue des études juives (REJ)* 106 (1941–45): 124–29.

al-ṣāliḥ ("the righteous brother"). It follows here that had Idrīs been antediluvian, he would have used the same form of address used by Adam.¹²

P. Casanova and, later, C. C. Torrey both thought that Idrīs originated from the biblical Ezra, who had come down to the Muslims in Greek as Esdras. This is somewhat problematic since, in Muslim tradition, ʿUzayr is the biblical Ezra, who—according to the Qurʾān (sūra 9:29)—was claimed by the Jews to be the son of God.¹³ Because Casanova could not find any Jewish myth describing Ezra as the son of God, he assumed that the Qurʾānic verse about ʿUzayr referred to the sons of God in Gen. 6:2–4.¹⁴ In this myth, embellished by haggadic literature, one of the fallen angels is ʿAzaʿēl. His name was pronounced ʿUziʿēl, and he is the source of ʿUzayr.¹⁵

Muslim exegetes pointed to the similarity between the name Idrīs and the Arabic root *d-r-s*, "study." Indeed, according to tradition, Idrīs was a scholar. He devoted himself to the books revealed to his predecessors Adam and Seth and studied God's words. Many of the traditions emphasize the fact that he made decisive contributions to the study of the sciences in order to preserve them for the coming generations.¹⁶ Nevertheless, despite Idrīs's proclivity for learning, the idea that his name derives from an Arabic root has been ruled out, as already noted. Some have suggested, however, that in the foreign language from which it was borrowed, the word had the same meaning as the Arabic root *d-r-s*.¹⁷

Since Muslim scholars interested in science identified Idrīs with Hermes Trismegistos,¹⁸ it is worthwhile examining just how this name was understood in Islamic hermetic literature. According to Ibn Juljul, Hermes is a title (*laqab*), like *qayṣar* (the Roman or Byzantine emperor) or *kisrā* (the Persian king).¹⁹ In one treatise, which could not have been composed before the thirteenth century, an anonymous scholar claims that Hermes is a Syrian appellation, meaning ʿālim ("scholar"). Hermes is identified with Idrīs and Enoch, but his name is really Enoch, while the other appellations merely reflect his scholarly attributes.

*Harmasu huwa Akhnūkhū wa-huwa Idrīsu ʿalayhi al-salāmu. Wa-Harmasu lughatun suryāniyyatun wa-maʿanāhu ʾl-ʿālimu. Wa-Harmasu al-Haramisi ay ʿālimu ʾl-ʿulamāʾi kamā anna ʾl-Ibrānīyyīna yaqūlūna ḥibrun ay ʿālimun wa-ḥibru ʾl-aḥbārī ay ʿālimu ʾl-ʿulamāʾi. Wa-lafẓatun Harmasu laysat ʾsmahu l-ḥaqīqīya wa-innamā huma waṣfuhu biʾl-ʿilmi wa-kadhālīka Idrīsu laysa ʾsmahu l-ḥaqīqīya ayḍan wa-innamā sammūhu Idrīsan li-kathrati tadrīsihi fī ʾl-ʿulūmi fa-ʾfham wa-amma ʾsmuhu al-ḥaqīqīyu Akhnūkhū.*²⁰

¹² Al-Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ*, vol. 7, pp. 232; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vol. 1, p. 100.

¹³ B. Heller, "ʿUzair," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*,¹ vol. 4, pp. 1062–63.

¹⁴ P. Casanova, "Idrīs et ʿOuzair," *Journal asiatique* (JA) 205 (1924): 356–60; C. C. Torrey, *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York, 1967) (reprint), p. 72.

¹⁵ In the Qurʾān (sūra 2:101), Hārūt and Mārūt are the two fallen angels. On Shemḥazai and ʿAzaʿēl, see Milik, *Enoch*, pp. 321–39. A. J. Wensinck, in his article, "Hārūt and Mārūt," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*,¹ vol. 2, pp. 272–73, suggested that Mārūt might contain an allusion to ʿAzaʿēl. See also, S. Spiegel, "Noah, Danel and Job," in *L. Ginzberg Jubilee Vol-*

ume (English section) (New York, 1945), pp. 349–52.

¹⁶ See n. 9 above.

¹⁷ See n. 6 above.

¹⁸ See pp. 345–46 below.

¹⁹ Ibn Juljul, *Abū Dāʾūd Sulaymān, Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbaʾ wal-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. F. Sayyid (Cairo, 1955), p. 5. Ibn al-Qifī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), p. 6; Ibn abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ* (Beirut, 1965), p. 31. On Ibn Juljul, see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (GAL), vol. 1, p. 422; GAL Supplement, vol. 1, p. 272.

²⁰ "Qabas al-qābis fī tadbīr Harmas al-Harāmīs," in A. Siggel, "Das Sendschreiben das Licht über das

Hermes is Enoch, and he is Idrīs, may God have mercy upon him. Hermes is Syriac and it means “the scholar,” as Hermes Trismegistos means “the scholar of scholars.”²¹ This is similar to the way the Hebrews say *ḥibr*, that is, “scholar,” and *ḥibr al-aḥbār*—“the scholar of scholars.” The word Hermes is not a name but an attribute of knowledge. Idrīs is also not a name. He was called Idrīs because of his great scientific studies. His real name is Enoch.

The assumption that Idrīs is connected with study and knowledge is well grounded in Islamic tradition, as already noted.²² Hermes, on the other hand, is a Greek, not a Syriac word, derived from *hermēneia*, i.e., “interpretation.” The Muslims were aware of the tasks attributed to Hermes Trismegistos in the ancient literature: he was a scholar who meditated between heaven and men by transmitting heavenly science and knowledge to the world.²³ Ibn al-Qiftī speaks about Hermes in a chapter entitled “Idrīs.” He had learned from Abū Maʿshar that the figure of Hermes Trismegistos was a conflation of three different Hermes, the first of whom was Idrīs. This Hermes is described as an antediluvian who had warned his people of the coming flood and whose warning had fallen on deaf ears. He then built the pyramids in Egypt in order to preserve the sciences for future generations: he drew pictures of existing tools and wrote down their history.²⁴ According to one tradition, he is buried in one of the pyramids.²⁵

Although there is a similarity between Hermes Trismegistos and the Idrīs of Islamic literature, both in their deeds and semantically speaking, it is difficult to believe that Idrīs is derived from Hermes, in view of the etymological differences between the two names. Still there may be something to the idea that there could be a similarity of meaning between the Arabic root *d-r-s* and the origin of Idrīs in the foreign language from which the name was taken.

There is a semantic and etymological resemblance between the Hebrew root *d-r-sh* and the Arabic *d-r-s*, but we know that the Muslims identified Idrīs with the biblical Hanokh-Enoch, which bears no resemblance whatsoever to *d-r-s*. On this point, however, one should note that one of the important figures involved in the eschatological doctrines of the CD was called Dōrēsh ha-Torah, “Interpreter of the Torah.” The sect apparently identified him with Hermes-Mercury and attributed to him the deeds of Enoch known to us from the Enoch literature. This is the basis on which I infer that it was Dōrēsh, which comes from *d-r-sh*, which as we have seen, was the source of Idrīs in the Qurʾān.²⁶

Let us examine the figure of Dōrēsh ha-Torah in the CD, where he is mentioned twice. The first mention is as follows:

Verfahren des Hermes der Hermes dem, der es begehrt,” *Der Islam* 24 (1937): 292–93.

²¹ It is possible that the Muslims became acquainted with Hermes Trismegistos through Syrian Hermetic literature. On Jewish Aramaic hermetic literature, see J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1913), pp. 123–24. See also Milik, *Enoch*, pp. 132–33.

²² See n. 9 above.

²³ See A. E. Affifi, “The Influence of Hermetic Literature on Muslim Thought,” *BSOAS* 13 (1949–51): 840–55; M. Plessner, “Hermes Trismegistos and

Arab Science,” *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954): 45–59.

²⁴ Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīkh*, p. 6. On Abū Maʿshar, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel (Leipzig, 1871–72), p. 277; Brockelmann, *GAL Supplement*, p. 394. See also, Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 5–6.

²⁵ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 352; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, vol. 4, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866), p. 965.

²⁶ On *dārash* and *midrāsh* in Qumran literature, see L. H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 54–60.

ויקם מאהרן נבונים ומישראל חכמים וישמיעם ויחפורו את הבאר 'באר חפורה שרים כרוה נדיבי העם במחוקק' (במ' כא:יח). הבאר היא התורה וחופריה הם שבי ישראל . . . אשר קרא אל את כולם שרים כי דרשוהו . . . והמחוקק הוא דורש התורה אשר אמר ישעיה 'מוציא כלי למעשהו' (יש' נד:טז). ונדיבי העם הם הבאים לכרות את הבאר במחוקקות אשר חקק המחוקק להתהלך במה בכל קץ הרשיע.

He raised from Aaron men of understanding and from Israel men of wisdom, and he caused them to hear and they dug the well, "the well which princes dug, which the nobles of the people delved with the staff" (Num. 21:18). The Well is the Torah and those that dug it are they that turned (from impiety) from Israel . . . "Inasmuch as God called all of them Princes for they sought him . . . and the legislator is the Interpreter of the Torah, as Isaiah said: "Who bringeth forth a vessel for his work" (Isa. 54:16). And the Nobles of the People are they that have come to dig the Well with the staffs which the legislator instituted to walk in them during the whole epoch of wickedness.²⁷

Like Hermes, Dōrēsh ha-Torah means "interpreter." He interprets the Torah which is compared to a well.²⁸ He is identified with the legislator and, if we read the entire verse of Isa. 54:16, with the *hārāsh* ("craftsman"), as well as with the vessel. As N. Wieder noted, Moses is referred to as *mehōqēq* ("legislator") and *kelī* ("vessel") in Jewish and Samaritan literature.²⁹ The "craftsman" is a key figure in Jewish eschatology. Certain haggadic texts on Zach. 2:3 stress that four craftsmen are expected: the Messiah ben David, the Messiah ben Joseph, and those who will precede them, Elijah and Melchizedek.³⁰ Considering the Dōrēsh ha-Torah's attributes in the CD, which have been mentioned above, i.e., *mehōqēq* and *kelī*, Wieder has concluded that the craftsman expected by the Qumran sect was Moses, although no source is known by us which has identified the *hārāsh* with Moses.³¹

The second mention reads:

והמחזיקים נמלטו לארץ צפון כאשר אמר 'והגליתי את סכות מלכם ואת כיון צלמיכם' (עמ' ה:כ"ז) מאהלי דמשק. ספרי התורה הם סוכת המלך כאשר אמר 'והקימוני את סוכת דוד הנפלת' (עמ' ט:א). המלך הוא הקהל וכיניי הצלמים וכיון הצלמים הם ספרי הנביאים . . . והכוכב הוא דורש התורה הבא מדמשק כאשר כתוב 'דרך כוכב מיעקב וקם שבט מישראל' (במ' כד:יז).

Those who held fast escaped to the land of the north as He said, "and I have exiled the *Sikkuth* of your king and the *Kiyyun* of your images (and the star of your God", Amos 5:27) from My tent to Damascus. The books of the Torah are the Tabernacle (*sukkath*) of the king as He hath said: "And I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen" (Amos 9:11). The king is the assembly. And the Pedestals (*kene*) of the images and the *kiyyun* of the images are the books of the prophets . . . and the Star is the interpreter of the Torah who came (or: shall come)³² to Damascus as it is written, "A star shall step forth out of Jacob and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel" (Num. 24:17).³³

²⁷ CD 6: 2–10. Based on Rabin's translation, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 20–22.

²⁸ *Be'er*, i.e., "well," also means "explain" in Hebrew. See Deut. 1:5. See also Wieder, "The 'Law Interpreter' of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Moses," *JSS* 4 (1953): 159.

²⁹ In Onkelos, Gen. 49:10, Num. 21:18, *mehōqēq* is *safrā*. In Onkelos, Deut. 33:21, Moses is the *safrā rabbā*. On Moses as nomikos (νομικός), see S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York, 1962), pp. 81–82. Moses is also *safrā* in Pseudo-Jonathan, Num. 21:18.

³⁰ See B. T. Sukkā 52b. Elijahu Rabbā, 18, ed. Friedmann, p. 96.

³¹ Wieder, "Law Interpreter," pp. 158–75.

³² In a later book, Wieder wrote that contrary to CD 6:7 here the arrival of Dōrēsh ha-Torah is still expected. See Wieder, *Scrolls and Karaism*, p. 9, n. 4. In 4Q Florilegium, 11–12, the arrival of Dōrēsh ha-Torah is also still expected. See J. M. Allegro, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrashim," *JBL* 77 (1958): 353.

³³ CD 7: 13–20.

Here, Dōrēsh ha-Torah is the *kōkhāv*, that is, the “star.” Wieder was the first to point out that the star is Mercury, whose full name in Hebrew is כוכב חמה but which is also known simply as *kōkhāv*.³⁴ This star was identified in Greek mythology with Hermes.³⁵ Wieder assumed that although the CD was referring to this connection, that is, Dōrēsh ha-Torah as *kōkhāv*, the author of the document was looking for evidence that Moses was the equivalent of Hermes.³⁶ In my opinion, Wieder was right to assume that the star was Hermes-Mercury. Nonetheless, it seems to me that Dōrēsh ha-Torah was a figure related to Enoch and the Enoch literature and that he should not be identified with Moses.

The similarity of Enoch, Dōrēsh ha-Torah, and Hermes-Mercury is quite striking. According to the Aggadah, Mercury is the sun’s scribe: “He who is born under Mercury will be of a retentive memory and wise. What is the reason? Because it [Mercury] is the sun’s scribe.”³⁷ Mercury’s task as scribe was known to Muslim scholars. According to Bīrūnī, Mercury, who is Nabû in the Babylonian religion, is the scribes’ star, and Maqrīzī referred to him as such, that is, as a *kātīb*.³⁸ In the Enoch literature, Enoch is described as God’s scribe: “And he was taken from amongst the children of men and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honour, and behold there he writes down the condemnation and judgment of the world.”³⁹ Dōrēsh ha-Torah is “legislator” and “star,” and there is a deep connection between legislator and scribe (*safrā*).⁴⁰ The star referred to by the CD is the star of God (Amos 5:27). It would thus appear that Dōrēsh ha-Torah is, like Enoch and Mercury, the scribe of God.

The resemblance between Enoch and Dōrēsh ha-Torah becomes clearer when we compare the contents of their writing. Since Dōrēsh ha-Torah has been described as a legislator, it means that he is an engraver (*mehōqēq*) of laws. According to the *Hodayot* (“Thanksgiving”) Scroll, nothing can be said without a scribe (*sōfēr*). On the other hand, the eternal law is engraved (*hāqūq*) before God “with a stylus of remembrance for all the everlasting period.”⁴¹ It would seem that the task of the legislator-engraver is to engrave the eternal law of God. Enoch is also described as the one who

³⁴ T. B. Shabbat 156a; Maimonides, Code, *Sēfer maddā*^c, yesōde ha-Torah, 3,1; Baraita di-Shemuel ha-Qātān, chap. 9.

³⁵ In Palestine, the Roman deity Mercurius was very popular. See Lieberman, “Palestine in the Third and Fourth Centuries,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* (JQR) n.s. 37 (1946–47): 42–54. The Harranians celebrated the seventh of Adar as the holiday of Hermes-Mercury. See al-Bīrūnī, *Al-Āthār al-bāqiya*, ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1923) (reprint), p. 320.

³⁶ Wieder, “Law Interpreter,” pp. 166–67. Wieder’s identification of Dōrēsh ha-Torah was not accepted. See S. Zeitlin, “The Antiquity of the Hebrew Scrolls and the Piltown Hoax,” JQR n.s. 45 (1954): 12–14; P. Winter, “Notes on Wieder’s Observation on the דורש התורה in the Book of the New Covenanters of Damascus,” JQR n.s. 45 (1954): 39–47; E. E. Urbach, “The Halakha, Its Sources and Development” (Hebrew), *Yad la-Talmud* (1984), p. 260, n. 24. See also Wieder, “The Idea of a Second

Coming of Moses,” JQR n.s. 46 (1955–56): 356–64. A rejoinder by Zeitlin follows, pp. 364–66.

³⁷ B. T. Shabbat 156a.

³⁸ Al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, p. 221; al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. 1 (Beirut, n.d.), p. 10. Like Hermes, Mercury is also an interpreter. See G. R. S. Mead, *Thrice Greatest Hermes*, vol. 1 (London, 1964), p. 292.

³⁹ *The Book of Jubilees* 4:23, ed. R. H. Charles (London, 1902). See Charles’s commentary on this verse, p. 39, n. 23. In Pseudo-Jonathan to Gen. 5:24, Enoch is *Mīṭaṭrōn safrā rabbā*; Mīṭaṭrōn is the Babylonian name of Enoch. See L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. 5 (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 163, n. 161. See also B. T. Hagigā 15a.

⁴⁰ See n. 29 above. On *dōrēsh* and *sōfēr*, see Urbach, *Halakha*, pp. 70–72.

⁴¹ The *Hodayot* Scroll I: 23–24. See the translation of M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scroll*, p. 400. I have translated pen as “stylus.”

writes the tablets on which God's eternal law is engraved: "And He said unto me, 'O Enoch, observe the writings of the heavenly tablets and read what is written thereon'."⁴²

Like Hermes Trismegistos, Enoch, as God's scribe, transmitted heaven's knowledge to Man.⁴³ It was only through this knowledge that the earthly calendar could be coordinated with the order of the stars in heaven: "And he was the first among men that are born on earth who learnt writing and knowledge and wisdom and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book, that men might know seasons of the years according to the order of their separate months."⁴⁴ Such knowledge—including wisdom, science and astronomy and the eternal law engraved before God—would appear to be the "interpretation" engraved by Dōrēsh ha-Torah.⁴⁵

As we already know, the Book of Jubilees was in the library of the Qumran sect. Its calendar was a solar one, and according to the Enoch literature, brought to earth, we have learned, by Enoch.⁴⁶ Indeed, the myth of Enoch is linked with the sun from its beginning—as in the 365 years of his life on earth, according to the Bible.⁴⁷ According to the Aggadah, as pointed out above, Mercury is the sun's star.⁴⁸ In the Ḥarranian cult, sacrifices were made to Mercury on Wednesdays, the day on which, the Bible tells us, the lights were put in heaven (Gen. 1:14).⁴⁹ It seems that for this very reason, Wednesday was the first day of the year in the Book of Jubilees calendar.⁵⁰

The assumption that there is an affinity between Idrīs and Dōrēsh ha-Torah, Enoch, Hermes Trismegistos, and Hermes-Mercury is strengthened by Muslim traditions. We have already mentioned the belief that the name Idrīs comes from a foreign word with the same meaning as *d-r-s* and further pointed out the similarity to the Hebrew root *d-r-sh*. Muslim sources also identify Idrīs with Enoch, Hermes, and ʿUṭārid (Mercury)⁵¹ or Nabū, the scribe, in the Babylonian cult.⁵² In quoting from hermetic

⁴² The Book of Enoch 81:1.

⁴³ On Hermes Trismegistos, see J. P. Mahe, "Hermes Trismegistos," *Encyclopaedia of Religions*, ed. M. Eliade, vol. 6, pp. 289–90.

⁴⁴ The Book of Jubilees 4:17.

⁴⁵ On the heaven's knowledge of Enoch one can learn from the *Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I*, col. 2: 19–26, ed. J. Fitzmyer (Rome, 1966), pp. 44–47. In Baraita di-shemuel ha-qātān, 9, the task of the transmitting knowledge is incumbent upon Mercury.

⁴⁶ A. Jaubert, "Le Calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumran: Ses origines bibliques," *VT* 3 (1953): 250–64.

⁴⁷ E. A. Speiser, *The Anchor Bible: Genesis* (New York, 1964), p. 43.

⁴⁸ See n. 37 above.

⁴⁹ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 321. See Abraham b. Ezra to Exodus 16:1.

⁵⁰ Barthélémy came to the conclusion that Wednesday was the first day in the Qumran calendar after reading al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, p. 284, on the *Maghāriyya*. See D. Barthélémy, "Notes en marge de publications récentes sur les manuscrits de Qumran," *RB* 52 (1952): 199–203. The *Maghāriyya* had a tremendous influence on the Karaite Benjamin al-Nahāwandī's

theology and calendar, another example of the persistence of Qumran literature into the Middle Ages. See Y. al-Qirīsānī, *Kitāb al-anwār wal-marāqib*, vol. 1, ed. L. Nemoy (New York, 1939), p. 42; al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-mīlāl wal-nihāl*, vol. 1, ed. W. Cureton (Leipzig, 1923), pp. 169–70. According to Saadya Gaon, TS Misc. 35.85, f. 2b, Benjamin found evidence in the Bible for the simultaneous existence of both a lunar and a solar calendar. See M. Zucker, *Saadya's Commentary on Genesis* (New York, 1984), p. 440 (in Hebrew).

⁵¹ Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 1, ed. C. A. Barbier and B. M. M. Pavet (Paris, 1861–77), p. 73; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, pp. 238, 352. On the identification of חמה with ʿUṭārid, see I. Israeli, *Jesod olam*, ed. B. Goldberg and L. Rosenkranz (Berlin, 1848), chap. 2, p. 16a: הגלגל השני שבו הוא גלגל הכוכב . . . והוא נקרא בלשון הגר עטארד, ואחרים קראו אותו כוכב חמה

⁵² See n. 38 above. On Idrīs and the Babylonian myth, see also, J. Finkel, "Old Israelitish Tradition in the Koran," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research* 2 (1931): 18–19; Charles, *Enoch*, p. 28, n. 3, writes: "The idea of a heavenly scribe is derived in the main from the Babylonian Nabū . . . The same function was discharged into

literature, Muslim scholars never differentiate between Hermes Trismegistos and Hermes-Mercury.⁵³

There is also a striking similarity between the deeds of Idrīs and those of Enoch and Hermes Trismegistos. Idrīs devoted himself to the study of astronomy, God's words and revelations, all of which had been given to his predecessors to preserve for generations to come. Some traditions note that Enoch, i.e., Idrīs, was the first prophet to whom revelations were made (although others disagree).⁵⁴ All traditions, however, agree that Idrīs was the first to write with a stylus (*qalam*, derived from κάλαμος), the emblem of Nabû in Babylonian myth, and apparently refer here to the words of God engraved from the tablets of God with a stylus by Dōrēsh ha-Torah-the engraver (*mehōqēq*), Nabû and Enoch.⁵⁵ E. F. F. Bishop has pointed out the affinity between the tablets of God mentioned in *Hodayot* and the tablets of God mentioned in the Qurʾān.⁵⁶ According to Muḥammad, God's revelations are from one source, *umm al-kitāb* (sūra 3:6), and this reminds us of the eternal law engraved before God in the Qumran and Enoch literatures.⁵⁷

To sum up, according to Muslim tradition, Idrīs appears to be a bizarre mixture of Enoch, Nabû, Hermes Trismegistos, and Hermes-Mercury. Further, the figure of the Dōrēsh ha-Torah in the CD casts some light on the enigmatic Idrīs. They both are derived from the same root. Both are identified with Hermes-Mercury, and with regard to their deeds, both are related to the Enoch and hermetic literatures.

The question of how Islam came to be influenced by Qumran literature may now be asked.⁵⁸ Although I have no intention of providing a comprehensive answer to this question, I would like to suggest two possible channels through which Qumran-related

ancient Egyptian religion by the God Thoth." It is worth noting that the God's star (Amos 5:27) mentioned in CD 7:18 is attached to two Mesopotamian astral deities—Sakkūt and Kaiwān. See J. L. Mays, *Amos: A Commentary* (London, 1969), p. 112. Kaywān is one of the Arabic names for Saturn.

⁵³ See, for example, Ibn al-Qifī, *Taʾrīkh*, p. 2; al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. 1, p. 203. The Harranians, whose religion was based on hermetic literature, identified Hermes with Mercury. See n. 63 below.

⁵⁴ Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 1, and al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 172–73, claim in the name of Ibn-Ishāq, that Enoch was the first prophet. On discussions in Muslim tradition as to who was the first prophet, see G. Widengren, *Muḥammad: The Apostle of God, and His Ascension* (Uppsala, 1955), pp. 22–24; U. Rubin, "Preexistence and Light," *Israel Oriental Studies (IOS)* 5 (1975): 82–83. On Enoch and Hermes Trismegistos as the first revelators, see nn. 22–24 and n. 44 above.

⁵⁵ On the stylus, the emblem of Nabû, see S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* (London, 1930), pp. 65, 103, n. 1; F. G. Bliss and R. A. S. Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine during the Years 1898–1900* (London, 1902), p. 41 (fig. 16, no. 2). The stylus חרָת is mentioned in the *Hodayot* Scroll (see n. 41 above). The reading of *hoq hērūt* instead of *hoq hārūt* in

DSD 10:6.8.10, as suggested by Nötscher, is unacceptable. See F. Nötscher, "Gesetz der Freiheit im NT und in der Mönchsgemeinde am Totem Meer," *Biblica* 34 (1953): 193–94. It seems that קָקִיחָ, "the tool" in CD 6:4, means a stylus and a staff at the same time, as does *qalam* in Arabic. See Qurʾān 3:43. See also al-Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ*, vol. 4, p. 86: "The Torah was written by the *qalam*." *Qalam* is also *qidh* and *sahm*.

⁵⁶ Bishop, "Qumran and the Preserved Tablet(s)," *Revue de Qumran* 5 (1965): 253–56. Cf. the *Hodayot* Scroll I:23–24 and Qurʾān 7 and 85:21.

⁵⁷ See the Book of Enoch 81:1; the *Hodayot* Scroll. In Jubilees, chap. 2, the revelation is made to Moses. The fact that the prophets transmit the same eternal law throughout the generations explains the affinity between Enoch and Moses. See Wieder's suggestion (n. 31 above) that Dōrēsh ha-Torah is Moses.

⁵⁸ One can also find similarities in the religious practices of Qumran and Islam, such as the prohibition to marry one's niece (CD 5:7–11; Qurʾān 4:22). The same prohibition was found among the Samaritans and Karaites as well. See S. Poznanski, "Jacob ben Ephraim, in antikaarischer Polemiker des X. Jahrhunderts," *Gedenkbuch zu D. Kaufmann* (Breslau, 1900), pp. 172–76.

Enoch literature could have entered Islam during its formative period. The first channel is Ḥarrān, the other is Yemen.

All Muslim scholars agree that hermetic literature penetrated Islam primarily through Ḥarrān, one of the rare places in which Islam ruled but where a pagan cult persisted for a very long time. The religion of the Ḥarranians was based on the beliefs of a Mesopotamian cult, combined with Neo-Platonic Greek philosophy and Hellenistic-Egyptian hermetic literature.⁵⁹ The scholars of Ḥarrān were involved in translating ancient Greek literature into Arabic.⁶⁰ One of the reasons Ḥarranian paganism survived was that during the reign of al-Maʾmūn, the Ḥarranians called themselves Sābiāns, knowing that this entitled them to protection as *dhimmīs*.⁶¹ Although Muslim scholars distinguished between the Ṣābiāns mentioned in the Qurʾān—sūras 2:61, 5:68, 22:16—and the Ḥarranians, the word “Ṣābiāns” became synonymous with Ḥarranians and with paganism in its broader sense.⁶²

Ḥarrān, according to Muslim scholars, was where Hermes became identified with Mercury.⁶³ Some Muslim scholars claim that the identification of Hermes with Idrīs (i.e., Enoch) also originated in Ḥarrān.⁶⁴ The very opposite argument has been made by modern scholars, namely, that Islam was the source of the identification of Hermes with Idrīs in the religion of Ḥarrān.⁶⁵ If we accept the assumption that Egyptian hermetic literature had already linked Hermes to Enoch,⁶⁶ we may ask if there was not, perhaps, another channel through which Hermetic literature reached the first Muslims in the Arabian peninsula, before Ḥarrān began transmitting Hermetic literature from the eighth century on.

Dealing with the influence of Qumran on Islam, it is worthwhile to examine if any relation between the pagans of Ḥarrān and Qumran can be traced. One of the Qumran

⁵⁹ Thoth, the Egyptian deity, was identified by the Greeks with Hermes. See Albright, review of Boylan, *Thoth*, p. 192. On Thoth, see also Charles, *Enoch*, n. 52 above; al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, p. 205, called the Ḥarranian Hermes, “Hermes the Egyptian.” According to Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 352, Hermes moved from Babylon to Egypt. According to al-Masʿūdī, *Al-Tanbīh wal-ishrāf*, ed. de Goeje (Leiden, 1894), p. 116, the Ḥarranians are remnants of the Egyptian Ṣābiāns. Maḥbūb of Manbij in his *Kitāb al-ʿunwān*, ed. A. Vasiliev, *Patrologia Orientalis* (PO) 5 (1909): 591–92, claimed that the Ḥarranian cult was based on Manetho the Egyptian.

⁶⁰ On the influence of Ḥarrān on Muslim science and philosophy, see A. E. Affifi, “Hermetic Influence,” and J. L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam* (Leiden, 1986), pp. 84–85.

⁶¹ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 320. According to al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, pp. 206, 318, the Ḥarranians became *dhimmīs* after the reign of al-Maʾmūn. See D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1856), pp. 139–43.

⁶² The religion of the Greeks and the Romans is described by Muslim scholars as *ṣabīʿa*. See al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, p. 205; al-Masʿūdī, *Al-Tanbīh wal-ishrāf*, pp. 122, 126; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʾrīkh*, p. 27. On the relations between the Ḥarranian religion and the

Greco-Roman religion, see al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, p. 318. See also ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Tathbūt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, vol. 1, ed. ʿA. ʿUthmān (Beirut, 1966), pp. 158–62. On the sources of ʿAbd al-Jabbār, see S. M. Stern, “ʿAbd al-Jabbār’s Account of How Christ’s Religion was Falsified by the Adoption of Roman Custom,” *Journal of Theological Studies* (JTS) n.s. 19 (1968): 159–60.

⁶³ Al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, pp. 318, 320; al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, vol. 2, p. 202; Ibn Ḥazm *Al-Faṣl fi l-milal*, vol. 1 (Beirut, n.d.), p. 35; Ibn abī Uṣaybiʿa, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 31–32; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, vol. 1 (Damascus, 1961), p. 98.

⁶⁴ Al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, pp. 206, 318; Ibn Ḥazm, *Milal*, vol. 1, p. 35; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʾrīkh*, p. 5; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, vol. 1, p. 73.

⁶⁵ L. Massignon, “Inventaire de la littérature hermétique arabe,” in R. P. Festugière, *La Révélation d’Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. 1, appendix new ed. (Paris, 1981), p. 385; J. Hjarpe, *Analyse critique des traditions arabes sur les sabéens harraniens* (Uppsala, 1972), p. 167.

⁶⁶ According to Maḥbūb of Manbij, *ʿUnwān*, p. 591, Manetho the Egyptian claimed that Enoch studied the secrets of astronomy. On relations between Hermetic literature and Enoch literature, see Plessner, “Hermes Trismegistus,” pp. 53–54.

fragments, the Prayer of Nabonidus, provides us with an indirect link between the two sects.⁶⁷ Nabonidus, the last Babylonian king (556–539 B.C.), whose family originally came from Ḥarrān, brought about reform in the Babylonian religion.⁶⁸ He extolled Sîn, the moon-god, and rebuilt his temple in Ḥarrān.⁶⁹ At the same time, Nabû, the god after whom Nabonidus was named, also influenced him.⁷⁰ Motivated by religious impulses, Nabonidus then journeyed to Ṭēmā, where he spent ten of his seventeen years as king.⁷¹ The myth of Nabonidus survived for centuries in a variety of forms, circulating throughout the Middle East.

To give one example, King Nebuchadnezzar (in the first chapters of Daniel) is, in fact, Nabonidus.⁷² H. Lewy showed that Nabonidus survived in Muslim sources as Kay Kāʾūs. How Nabonidus acquired this Iranian name in Muslim sources is not precisely known. H. Lewy was inclined to think that Nabonidus was confused with an Iranian prince.⁷³ The Muslims were aware of Nabonidus's devotion to the study of astronomy and astrology and of the fact that his contemplation of heaven's secrets made him attempt an ascension—which failed. They describe his journey to the Arabian peninsula as a journey to Yemen.⁷⁴

The Qumran Nabonidus's prayer offers striking evidence of the links between the Mesopotamian cult—which was one of the foundations of the Ḥarranian religion—and Qumran. Nabonidus's interest in astronomy and his efforts to ascend to heaven immediately call to mind the figures of Enoch and Hermes Trismegistos.⁷⁵

Yemen was the other channel through which the Enoch literature could have penetrated Islam. Although the Enoch literature was influential in Yemen, it is hard to accept Rabin's assertion that the remnants of the Qumran sect settled in Yemen after fleeing from Palestine.⁷⁶ On the other hand, Manichaeism in Yemen could have been instrumental in transmitting the Enoch literature to the first Muslims in Arabia, since we know that the Manichaeans already possessed it. Manichaeism also had a decisive influence on the early Shiʿis and on the Jewish Sectarials from the eighth century on.⁷⁷

⁶⁷ The first publication of the fragment was by Milik, "Prière de Nabonide et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel," *RB* 63 (1965): 407–15. See also, F. M. Cross, "Fragments of the Prayer of Nabonidus," *IEJ* 34 (1984): 260–66; and K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1983), pp. 223–24.

⁶⁸ See H. Lewy, "The Babylonian Background of the Kay kâūs Legend," *Archiv Orientalní* 17 (1949): 33–56.

⁶⁹ S. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (Leipzig, 1912), no. 1; also Lewy, "Kay kâūs Legend," pp. 34–37; C. J. Gadd, "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus," *Anatolian Studies* 8 (1958): 35–92.

⁷⁰ Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, no. 3, col. 1: 15 ff.; no. 8, col. 7: 24 ff.

⁷¹ On Nabonidus's motivation for this journey, see Lewy, "The Late Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon and Its Culmination at the Time of Nabonidus," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 19 (1945–46): 434–41. On the journey itself, see I. Ephʿal, *The Ancient Arabs* (Leiden, 1982), pp. 179–91.

⁷² W. von Soden, "Eine babylonische Volksüberlieferung vom Nabonid in den Danielerzählungen," *ZAW* n.s. 12 (1934): 81–89; D. N. Freedman, "The Prayer of Nabonidus," *BASOR* 145 (1957): 31–32; W. H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the Bible* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 35–42.

⁷³ Lewy, "Kay kâūs Legend," p. 98. In al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, p. 104, Kay-kāʾūs is Nimrud. On p. 111, he is Nebuchadnezzar.

⁷⁴ Al-Thaʿalibī, Abu Maṣʿūr, *Ghurur akhbār mulūk al-furs wa-siyaruhum*, ed. H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1900), pp. 154–62. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 602–4; Firdawsi, *Shāh-nāma*, trans. al-Fath b. Alī al-Bandārī (Cairo, 1932), vol. 1, pp. 119–29; Lewy, "Kay kâūs Legend," p. 108.

⁷⁵ On the relation between the myth of Nabonidus and Enoch literature, see Lewy, *ibid.*, p. 82–85.

⁷⁶ Ch. Rabin, *Qumran Studies*, pp. 128–29. See also M. Philonenko, "Tradition essénienne," p. 157. *Contra* Rabin, see J. Wansbrough, *The Sectarial Milieu* (Oxford, 1978), p. 51.

⁷⁷ On Enoch literature in Manichaeism, see Milik, *Enoch*, pp. 298–310. On the influence of Mani-

Ibn Ishāq, whose many traditions had originated in Yemen, in his *Kitāb al-mubtadaʿ* supplies evidence of the existence of Enoch literature in early Islam. In this book, he mentions the wives of the patriarchs whose names are exactly the same as those in the books belonging to the “Enoch circle,” which is the Book of Jubilees and the Genesis apocryphon found in one of the caves in the Judaeen desert.⁷⁸ Some Muslim scholars strongly opposed Ibn Ishāq, calling him a *dajjāl* (“devil”).⁷⁹ The Yemenīs who converted to Islam were the main source of the penetration into Islam of the *isrāʿīliyyāt*. These traditions were apparently strongly influenced by the Enoch literature.⁸⁰ The *isrāʿīliyyāt* introduced by Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, a converted Jew, who claimed that he was basing himself on *kitāb dāris* [*sic*] met with hostility from his contemporaries similar to that experienced by Ibn Ishāq.⁸¹

It is evident from the influence of the Enoch literature on the Yemenī Jews of that period, that they were far removed from the mainstream of rabbinical Judaism, which opposed this literature.⁸² According to Ibn Ḥazm, the Jews mentioned in the Qurʾān who believed that ʿUzayr was the son of God were members of the Sadducee sect in Yemen.⁸³ We know today that the Karaites referred to the Qumranic fragments in their possession as Sadducean literature perhaps because of the important role which the family of the Sadducean priests played there.⁸⁴

Based on the writings of Ibn Ḥazm, we can conclude that the Sadducean literature, i.e., Enoch literature, possessed by the Karaites in Babylonia and Persia from the eighth century on, was also available to the Yemenī Jews in the seventh century.

chaeism in Arabia, see C. Clemens, *Muhammeds Abhängigkeit von der Genesis*, A. V. Harnack Ehrung (Leipzig, 1921), pp. 249–62; M. J. Kister, “Al-Hira,” *Arabica* 15 (1968): 144–45. On the influence of Manichaeism on Shīʿism and on Jewish sectarians, see I. Friedlaender, “Jewish-Arabic Studies,” *JQR* n.s. 1 (1910–11): 183–215; *JQR* n.s. 2 (1911–12): 481–90. On Judeo-Christian sects, see P. Crone, “Islam, Judeo-Christianity and Byzantine Iconoclasm,” *JSAI* 2 (1980): 83–95.

⁷⁸ *Kitāb al-mubtadaʿ* is quoted by al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 163–73. See the Book of Jubilees, chap. 4; and Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, col. 2:8–12. On Ibn Ishāq and the Book of Jubilees, see U. Rubin, “Prophets and Progenitors,” pp. 56–57.

⁷⁹ Al-Ṣafadī Khalīl b. Aybak, *Al-Wāfī bi-ʿl-wafayāt*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1959), p. 189. See M. Gil, “The Origin of the Jews of Yathrib,” *JSAI* 4 (1984): 219–20.

⁸⁰ See Halperin and Newby, “Castrated Bulls,” pp. 631–38. On the *isrāʿīliyyāt*, see I. Goldziher, “Israʿīliyyat,” *REJ* 44 (1902): 63–65.

⁸¹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 1, p. 74. See Halperin and Newby, “Castrated Bulls,” pp. 632–33.

⁸² Genesis Rabbā 25 1, Theodor-Albeck edition, pp. 238–39; and Ginzberg, n. 39 above.

⁸³ Ibn Ḥazm, *Milal*, vol. 1, p. 99. See also, S. Poznanski, “Ibn Ḥazm über jüdische Setzen,” *JQR* 16 (1904): 766–77. According to H. Nibley, “Com-

panions,” pp. 186–87, n. 50, there is a relationship between *zindīqiyya*—the prevailing name for Manichaeism in Arabic—and *ṣadūqiyya*. It is doubtful that Nibley’s source is adequate enough for such a conclusion. On the relation between Manichaeism and Enoch literature, see Milik, n. 77 above. In al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. 3, p. 374, we read: *wal-zayādiqatu wa-hum min jinsi ʿl-sāmīrati, wa-hum mina ʿl-ṣadūfiyyati* [*sic*] [*ṣadūfiyyati*]. (Perhaps *zayādiqa* should be read *zanādiqa*). It seems that al-Maqrīzī is relying on patristic sources here. They thought that the Sadducees were a branch of the Samaritans. See “Pseudo Tertullian and Epiphanius Panarion,” in S. J. Isser, *The Dositheans: A Samaritan Sect in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 35–41. According to Maḥbūb of Manbij, *Kitāb al-ʿunwan*, ed. L. Cheikho, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Ser. 3, vol. 5, p. 128, the *ṣadūqiyya* were called *zanādiqa* in the New Testament. It is worthwhile to mention that the *ṣiddīqūn* were one of the castes in Manichaeism. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 333 (*ṣiddīqūn*), p. 334 (*ṣiddīqūt*). On *ṣiddīqūt*, see G. Vajda, “Les Zindīqs en pays d’Islam au debut de la période abbaside,” *RSO* 17 (1938): 176, n. 2.

⁸⁴ Schechter, in *Fragments*, called it a “Zadokite Work” for two reasons: the role of the Sadoqite priests in the document and the fact that al-Qir-qisānī referred to *Kitāb Sadūq* quoting extracts similar to CD. On the importance of the Sadoqite

It was Goitein's opinion that there is a Karaite "current" in the Qur^ʿān and in Muslim tradition, stemming, he believed, from the influence of Jewish sects who followed similar practices.⁸⁵ Considering the decisive influence of the Enoch and Qumran literatures on Karaism in its formative stages, it would appear that these same influences, coming from Yemen, helped shape Islam in the seventh century.⁸⁶

priests in the Judaeen scrolls, see J. Trinquet, "Les Liens sadocites de l'écrit de Damas, des manuscrits de la Mer Morte et de l'Ecclésiastique," *VT* 1 (1951):

287–92.

⁸⁵ "Muḥammad's Teachers," p. 158.

⁸⁶ See n. 4 above.